

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE  
ON DISARMAMENT

ENDC/PV.128  
6 May 1963  
ENGLISH

THE UNIVERSITY  
OF MICHIGAN  
AUG 13 1963  
DOCUMENT  
COLLECTION

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Monday, 6 May 1963, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. L. PADILLA NERVO (Mexico)

## PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. J. de CASTRO

Mr. E. HOSANNAH

Mr. S. PORTELLA de AGUIAR

Bulgaria:

Mr. K. CHRISTOV

Mr. G. GUELEV

Mr. M. KARASSIMEONOV

Mr. V. IZMIRLIEV

Burma:

Mr. J. BARRINGTON

U MAUNG MAUNG GYI

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS

Mr. S.W. RAE

Mr. A.E. GOTLIEB

Mr. R.M. TAIT

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. K. KURKA

Mr. V. PECHOTA

Mr. V. VAJNAR

Mr. A. MIKULIN

Ethiopia:

Lij Mikael IMRU

Ato M. GHEBEYEHU

India:

Mr. A.S. LALL

Mr. A.S. MEHTA

Mr. S.B. DESHKAR

Italy:

Mr. F. CAVALLETTI

Mr. A. CAVAGLIERI

Mr. C. COSTA-REGHINI

Mr. P. TOZZOLI

## PRESENT AT THE TABLE (cont'd)

Mexico:

Mr. L. PADILLA NERVO  
Miss E. AGUIRRE  
Mr. J. MERCADO

Nigeria:

Mr. M.T. MBU  
Mr. L.C.N. OBI

Poland:

Mr. M. BLUSZTAJN  
Mr. E. STANIEWSKI  
Mr. A. SKOWRONSKI

Romania:

Mr. G. MACOVESCU  
Mr. E. GLASER  
Mr. N. ECOBESCU  
Mr. O NEDA

Sweden:

Baron C.H. von PLATEN  
Mr. E. CORNELL

Union of Soviet Socialist  
Republics:

Mr. S. K. TSARAPKIN  
Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN  
Mr. P.F. SHAKOV  
Mr. J.M. PALENYKH

United Arab Republic:

Mr. S. AHMED

## PRESENT AT THE TABLE (cont'd)

United Kingdom:

Mr. J.B. GODBER  
Sir Paul MASON  
Mr. J.G. TAHOURDIN  
Mr. J.M. EDES

United States of America:

Mr. C.C. STELLE  
Mr. A.L. RICHARDS  
Mr. D.E. MARK  
Mr. R.A. MARTIN

Deputy Special Representative  
of the Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

The CHAIRMAN (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): I declare open the one hundred and twenty-eighth plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

Mr. de CASTRO (Brazil) (translation from French): This is the first time that I have had the honour of addressing this Conference, and I do so humbly, realizing the disproportion between my personal limitations and the colossal task of discussing the problem of disarmament, upon which the future of all mankind depends. So in a spirit of humility I address my distinguished colleagues, conscious of the lofty responsibility which attaches to any statement made here.

For the Brazilian delegation the stumbling progress of this Conference reflects the contradictory reality of the present-day world, a reality at once fraught with dreadful menace and full of shining hopes. Thus has our Conference gone: some days we are full of hope, glimpsing concrete progress towards the stabilization of world peace in the immediate future; but the very next day our hopes are dashed when we see our plans shatter against obstacles rearing out of the tragic complexity of disarmament problems.

We must, however, realize that if this Conference faithfully reflects the reality of a world divided into antagonistic blocs split in their ideologies and their economies it can be no easy task to build one single concept from the will to peace, which, though common to all peoples, is not seen in the same perspective from the two different focal points of our world. Our task was bound to be, as it has been, arduous; but there is at the present moment no task more necessary, more essential, because on its successful accomplishment depends the final removal of the gravest threat that has ever hung over mankind: the threat of its annihilation by the use of weapons of mass destruction.

Such is the task entrusted to us by the present generation, the atomic generation, on whose shoulders rests a responsibility unparalleled in all human history. Of course, every generation that appears on the stage of history thinks it has a responsibility to reshape the world in its own way. The responsibility of our generation is much greater. It has not only to reshape the world, but more: to prevent the world from destroying itself.

(Mr. de Castro, Brazil)

In the knowledge of the immensity and complexity of our task, we cannot be thoughtlessly optimistic; but neither have we the right to be dogmatically pessimistic. It is our duty to strive relentlessly with the weapons of goodwill, good faith, lucid reasoning and example, to induce a climate of mutual trust in which we shall overcome the antagonisms that are delaying the consummation of something already consummated in the world's conscience -- namely, world peace as an imperative immediate need.

In fact, until the beginning of the atomic era peace was always regarded as a Utopia, whilst war was always a reality. Today, under the pressure created by the terrible destructive power of nuclear weapons which, as we know only too well, are capable of destroying the whole world, it is war that becomes utopian, since none of the opposing groups can delude itself that victory in war could solve any problems it may have. We all admit that there can be neither victor nor vanquished in a nuclear war. If war thus becomes an impossible solution to world problems and hence Utopian, peace then appears as a realistic, logical and feasible solution. So we are all forced to take the path of peace, since no other path really remains open to mankind but that of peace: either the deliberate peace of men of goodwill and clear mind who will build it through co-existence among all peoples, or the peace of the graveyard into which the whole world will be transformed if the folly of a few men brings us to the fatal holocaust of nuclear destruction.

If peace is the only choice, then all we have left to do is to rid ourselves as soon as possible of the vestiges of an age of barbarism in which might has been right, in order finally to enter on the new era of right through justice which is taking shape as a reality in a world technically and scientifically equipped to bring peace and prosperity to all. To that end we must give our thinking a truly universal dimension, and cleanse it of the lees of passion and emotionalism which prevent the clear use of reason to solve problems. We must free the world of the superstitions and prejudices which a British scholar has most aptly called "emotional dust", which threatens to clog the wheels of the social apparatus and keeps raining down on us like some kind of "emotional fall-out" analogous to the radioactive fall-out that also threatens us.

This "emotional fall-out" is usually the product of convictions that are sincere but insufficiently analytical and are hedged about with that sentimentalism which even

(Mr. de Castro, Brazil)

today still dominates the moral, ethnic, religious, political and ideological problems of our world. Only a strictly objective attitude will enable us to stop the fall-out of this "emotional dust", which can poison men's minds and prevent current difficulties from being overcome. Those who have received a mandate from the governments of the world to defend mankind's survival here in this meeting-chamber can have no other attitude of mind.

We must acknowledge objectively that world peace cannot be built all at once. In other words, we cannot achieve total and universal disarmament overnight. As in any type of building, we must begin with the foundations, with what is essential and most readily accessible to the work in hand. Of all the measures necessary for the building of world peace, the most readily accessible and the simplest is undoubtedly the conclusion of a treaty on the cessation of the nuclear tests which are daily increasing the risk of mankind's annihilation and increasing the destructive power of the arsenal of death. This problem is in my opinion quite ripe for an unqualified solution. The Swedish representative, Mrs. Myrdal, in a statement on 20 February last, gave her views on this subject in terms which I would like to quote for their irrefutable precision and logic:

"The test ban issue is clearly the primordial one for our negotiations, if for no other reason than that it is the one that can with a fair degree of safety be said to be ripe for a speedy solution. But it is also one of relative simplicity in the complex of proposals to stop the armaments race and reduce world tensions. Most other contemplated measures have to find the narrow passage between the two main criteria inscribed in the Joint Statement (ENDC/5) and thereafter in our mandate: the Scylla of retaining the military balance, and the Charybdis of finding an acceptable control system. A test ban has only one of them to sail past, that of control as there can be no question of upsetting the military balance by a measure that does not involve any change." (ENDC/PV.100, pp.23,24)

This is in fact the narrow gap into which we must squeeze to negotiate the coulhoir of uncertainty in which we now find ourselves; and one of our greatest obstacles is the fact that we live in the balance of terror, yet are at the same time terrified lest that balance be upset. We are in the position of doctors treating serious ailments

(Mr. de Castro, Brazil)

brought on by the patients' bad habits, but reluctant to prescribe a change in these habits because they know that such a change very often eliminates both ailment and patient. Our patient is the world, which has embarked on the crazy arms race that has created this tragic threat to mankind, and can only be cured by gradually restoring the habits of international co-existence without bringing on convulsions in its weakened and jeopardized organism.

The countries which do not possess nuclear weapons but have to witness the intensive preparations for an atomic holocaust cannot remain unmoved by the aggravation of the world's ailment, with its gloomy prognosis. They feel obliged to do something positive and constructive to prevent the fatal outcome. Some may think that, since we do not possess atomic weapons and do not belong to the atomic club, nothing we can say on the subject is more than academic speculation. As we take no part in the actual game, we may be regarded as mere "theoreticians", which in the etymological sense of the Greek word means spectators. In Greece's glorious Periclean age, the "theoreticians" were those who went to the Olympic Games not to take part but simply to spectate.

Would that be the proper attitude for the non-atomic and non-aligned countries --- the attitude of theoreticians or spectators? No. Such an attitude would be contrary to our terms of reference, contrary to the interests of our peoples, which coincide in this case with the common interests of mankind. It would be absurd and paradoxical if, because we do not belong to the atomic club, we were today to maintain the attitude of mere spectators, when we know full well that at the dreadful hour when the atomic match starts there will be no spectators and everyone will be dragged into the game and into its tragic consequences. If we cannot still be spectators tomorrow, it is our right and duty today to pass from spectatorship to action.

The only action open to us is to reject as unsound certain inconsistent arguments that yet impede the building of peace, and to make proposals that may serve as symbols and examples and act as catalysts to set off social reactions in the world that will lead inevitably to disarmament.

It is in this spirit of positive participation in the formulation of a disarmament policy that would begin in concrete fashion with a treaty on the cessation of nuclear tests that the Presidents of five Latin-American countries --- Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico --- have taken the step of signing a joint declaration by which their Governments and their peoples undertake not to manufacture, receive, store or test nuclear weapons or nuclear launching devices.

(Mr. de Castro, Brazil)

The signing of this joint declaration was inspired by a proposal from Mr. Lopez Mateos, President of Mexico, a great fighter for world peace, to the President of Brazil, Mr. Joao Goulart, who immediately promised the full support of the Brazilian people and Government for the proposal, which is based upon the same principles and follows the same broad lines as the one submitted to the seventeenth session of the United Nations General Assembly by the Brazilian representative, Mr. de Melo Franco, with the support of Bolivia, Chile and Ecuador (A/C.1/L.312/Rev.2).

In a few minutes Mr. Padilla Nervo, our chairman, will explain to the Conference the reasons for the Mexican Government's action. I myself wish, on behalf of the Government of Brazil, to express the conviction that our main aim in participating in this joint declaration is to make a positive contribution towards sparing, as far as possible, the countries associated in this declaration the tragic consequences of a nuclear war, and towards fostering by this example of a trial demonstration at regional level, the adoption of a universal contractual instrument capable of transforming the whole world into a denuclearized zone.

Our participation in this declaration thus flows naturally from our country's constant attitude of firm opposition to the reckless pursuit of nuclear explosions, whatever their origin or whatever the reasons given to justify them.

I venture to recall here the statement made on this subject on 7 December 1962 by our representative at this Conference, Mr. Assumpcao de Araujo, in terms that leave no doubt of the clear and resolute position of Brazil. He said:

"... Brazil cannot admit the legitimacy of any nuclear tests whatsoever, nor does it recognize the right of any Power to carry out such experiments in any circumstances. We protested when the Soviet Union resumed its experiments in October last year; we protested again (ENDC/PV.28, pp.11,12) when the United States announced last March that it intended to carry out a new series of tests; and we protested yet again (ENDC/PV.67, pp.23,24) when the Soviet Union embarked on its last series of experiments. In Brazil's opinion, all nuclear tests, no matter by whom they are conducted, are to be condemned. The first operative paragraph of resolution 1762 A(XVII), which condemns all nuclear weapon tests, is very timely in that it gives our views the backing of the United Nations General Assembly." (ENDC/PV.88, pp.7,8)

(Mr. de Castro, Brazil)

In view of the lofty motives which inspired the Government of my country and the other Governments signatories to the joint declaration of 29 April 1963, and which are identical with those of the delegations working in this Committee, I take the liberty of requesting the Chairman to have this declaration circulated as an official document of the Disarmament Conference. I am confident that the members of this Committee will interpret our motives aright and will understand the anxiety that leads us to throw our whole weight into this struggle for the victory of peace.

I would add that in this spirit the President of the United States of Brazil, Mr. Goulart, has sent the Presidents of all the Latin-American Republics the following message, which I feel it my duty to read out in full to the Committee:

"I have the honour of informing Your Excellency that, desirous of contributing in a positive manner to the cause of world security and inter-American peace, the Presidents of the Republics of Bolivia, of Chile, of Ecuador, of Mexico and of Brazil have agreed to formulate jointly the following declaration:

"The Presidents of the Republics of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico,

"Deeply concerned at current developments in the international situation which are conducive to the dissemination of nuclear weapons;

"Considering that the Latin-American States, impelled by their consistently peace-loving tradition, should combine their efforts to make Latin America a denuclearized zone, thereby helping to reduce the dangers threatening world peace;

"Desiring to preserve their countries from the disastrous consequences which would result from a nuclear war; and

"Encouraged by the hope that the conclusion of a Latin-American regional agreement may contribute to the adoption of a contractual instrument on a world-wide scale,

"On behalf of their peoples and Governments have agreed as follows:

"1. To announce forthwith that their Governments are prepared to sign a Latin-American multilateral agreement by which the countries would undertake not to manufacture, receive, store or test nuclear weapons or nuclear launching devices;

(Mr. de Castro, Brazil)

"2. To bring this Declaration to the attention of the Heads of State of the other Latin-American Republics with the expressed wish that their Governments should accede to it by whatever procedure they deem appropriate;

"3. To co-operate with each other and with the other Latin-American countries acceding to this Declaration so that Latin America may be recognized as a denuclearized zone as soon as possible." (ENDC/87)

The message of the President of the United States of Brazil proceeds:

"In communicating this declaration to you, I should like to appeal to Your Excellency for the co-operation of your Government in this effort, which must be undertaken jointly by all the Latin-American Republics in order to produce the desired results. We consider the trend towards the dissemination of nuclear weapons as one of the most disturbing and threatening features of the international crisis. I am convinced that the co-operation of your country, to which I attach great importance, will be a decisive element in enabling Latin America to become a spearhead in this great task of peace and universal disarmament.

"I take this opportunity of renewing to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Joao Goulart  
President of the Republic of  
the United States of Brazil"

The Brazilian delegation has learnt with great satisfaction of the extremely favourable reception given to this joint declaration by the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, at a press conference. We note in particular the idea he expressed that by this initiative these countries have voluntarily established disarmament in their territories. It is now with profound emotion and great joy that I bring this resolution officially to the notice of the Disarmament Conference, a resolution which may be regarded as the first concrete measure to express the firm and unshakeable decision of a group of countries to renounce categorically and finally the nuclear arms race, which in our opinion can never bring mankind what it most aspires to and most needs today: tranquillity and world peace.

The CHAIRMAN (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): I now wish to speak in my capacity as representative of Mexico.

I should like to begin by thanking the representative of Brazil for his words of praise for the work done by the President of Mexico, Dr. Lopez Mateos. The representative of Brazil, in the important statement he has just made, has pointed out --- among other interesting things --- the significance of the declaration made by the five Latin-American Republics in terms of the tasks of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament which concern the establishment of denuclearized zones and efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear arms, and which constitute co-operation in one of the most important aspects of maintaining the peace.

On 21 March 1963 Dr. Adolfo Lopez Mateos, the President of Mexico, addressed himself to the Presidents of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Ecuador and submitted for their consideration a proposal on the advisability of adopting a joint "Declaration on the Denuclearization of Latin America".

This proposal by Mexico was favourably received by the Heads of State of these Republics, whose replies, inspired by the peaceful sentiments of their respective peoples, expressed enthusiastic support for this Declaration, which was therefore formally approved and is now in force in respect of the five nations which drew it up.

More than a year ago, when the work of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament began, the Chairman of the Mexican delegation was instructed by President Lopez Mateos to express in unequivocal terms our Government's resolve not to possess or admit to our national territory nuclear weapons of any sort or any vehicles that might be used for their delivery.

In compliance with these instructions Mr. Manuel Tello, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, stated at the meeting of this Committee on 22 March 1962;

"We are opposed to nuclear tests for military purposes wherever and in whatever circumstances they may be carried out". (ENDC/PV.7, p.8)

He added:

"In our view, pending the attainment of world-wide agreement, denuclearization could, can and should be brought about through voluntary and free decisions by States. Thus, the Mexican Government has resolved neither to possess nor to admit to its national territory nuclear weapons of any sort or any vehicles that might be used for their delivery . . . .

(The Chairman, Mexico)

"Similarly, we supported both by our statements and by our votes the resolutions submitted with a view to preventing the spread of nuclear weapons." (ibid, pp. 8, 9)

The General Assembly of the United Nations, in a resolution adopted on 4 December 1961, requested the Secretary-General to make

"... an inquiry ... into the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive, in the future, nuclear weapons in their territories on behalf of any other country".

(A/RES/1664(XVI))

In reply to the Secretary-General's inquiry (PO 134), Mexico restated its position as expressed in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on 23 April 1962, and added that --

"... the Government of Mexico would be unconditionally prepared to assume as a contractual obligation an undertaking to refrain from manufacturing or acquiring nuclear weapons or from receiving them in its territory, provided that the other States agreed to be bound in identical terms." (DC/204/Add.1, p.16)

On 15 October 1962, in the statement which I made in the general debate at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly (A/PV.1153, p.101), in my capacity as Chairman of the Mexican delegation, I once again reaffirmed my Government's position on the establishment of denuclearized zones as first set out in this Committee in the statement made by our Minister for Foreign Affairs on the instructions of President Lopez Mateos (ENDC/PV.7, pp. 8, 9).

On 29 October 1962 Brazil submitted to the First Committee at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.312), to which Bolivia, Chile and Ecuador subsequently adhered as co-sponsors. The preamble of this draft resolution sponsored by those four countries (A/C.1/L.312/Rev.2) read as follows:

"Considering that the dangers and threats lying in the present world crisis make it impérative that all Member States in the Latin-American area should consider among themselves arrangements to establish Latin America as a denuclearized zone, thus preventing the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons".

(The Chairman, Mexico)

The draft resolution recognized

"... the need to prevent the countries of Latin America from becoming involved in the nuclear arms race, which jeopardizes world peace and is causing deep anxiety to all peoples and nations",

and recommended that the countries of Latin America should negotiate arrangements whereby they would agree not to manufacture, receive, store or test nuclear weapons or carrying devices, and to dispose of any nuclear weapons or nuclear delivery vehicles which may now be in their territory. It also called upon all States to co-operate and to "consider and respect the territory of Latin America as a denuclearized zone". It was not put to the vote in the General Assembly because its co-sponsors decided to withdraw it, considering that further consultation was necessary between the States of that area.

President Lopez Mateos wished to take a further step, in keeping with Mexico's persistent efforts to promote disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, and all measures designed to prevent the spread of those weapons. Thanks to the favourable reception by friendly Governments which are making similar efforts for the achievement of such ends, Mexico's initiative has had an encouraging outcome in the "Declaration on the Denuclearization of Latin America", made jointly by the Governments of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico and formally adopted by the five Republics on 29 April this year.

This declaration reads as follows:

"The Presidents of the Republics of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico,

"Deeply concerned at current developments in the international situation which are conducive to the dissemination of nuclear weapons;

"Considering that the Latin-American States, impelled by their consistently peace-loving tradition, should combine their efforts to make Latin America a denuclearized zone, thereby helping to reduce the dangers threatening world peace;

"Desiring to preserve their countries from the disastrous consequences which would result from a nuclear war, and

"Encouraged by the hope that the conclusion of a Latin-American regional agreement may contribute to the adoption of a contractual instrument on a world-wide scale,

(The Chairman, Mexico)

"On behalf of their peoples and Governments have agreed as follows;

"1. To announce forthwith that their Governments are prepared to sign a Latin-American multilateral agreement by which the countries would undertake not to manufacture, receive, store or test nuclear weapons or nuclear launching devices;

"2. To bring this Declaration to the attention of the Heads of State of the other Latin-American Republics with the expressed wish that their Governments should accede to it by whatever procedure they deem appropriate;"

"3. To co-operate with each other and with the other Latin-American countries acceding to this Declaration so that Latin America may be recognized as a denuclearized zone as soon as possible." (ENDC/87)

On that same date of 29 April the President of Mexico informed the nation of this agreement in a message, which reads in part as follows:

"When, by popular mandate, I assumed power as President of the country, I announced that the international conduct of my Government would be governed by two fundamental rules: to agree to nothing that might jeopardize our sovereignty, and not to withdraw our support for any effort that might make an effective contribution towards the improvement of relations among countries and the living standards of peoples. I have remained unswervingly faithful to these two principles and rules of friendly coexistence among nations; we have combined the inescapable requirement of maintaining our full independence as a nation with tireless efforts to advance the cause of peace and justice....

"... In the present 'cold war' situation, in which the two great Power groups continuously confront each other from their respective positions of strength, it is our country's duty to fulfil an essentially moderating function. The pacific vocation of the Mexican people also requires that Mexico should combine its efforts with those of other like-minded countries in order to inspire the great Powers, through their example, never to cease for a single moment their search for a formula which might lead to universal and complete disarmament....

"... Well-known factors have so far prevented the Eighteen-Nation Committee from achieving its lofty objective of general and complete disarmament. In these circumstances it is obviously timely and advisable, pending the

(The Chairman, Mexico)

conclusion of an agreement at world level, to proceed to the denuclearization of large geographical areas by sovereign decision of the States included in those areas.

"Latin America, which has distinguished itself by its valuable contribution to the development of the great principles of law and justice, is ideally situated to be one of these regions.

"In the desire to give a new impetus to efforts for the elimination of the nuclear threat from Latin-American soil, I have publicly announced that the Government of Mexico would be prepared to sign an undertaking neither to acquire in any circumstances nor to allow for any reason nuclear weapons to be stocked or transported within our national territory, not to permit launching bases to be installed there, if a substantial number of Latin-American Republics, or all of them, jointly agreed to assume a similar commitment. This statement clearly represents an advance over the one we made at Geneva: we were attempting to secure the necessary international co-operation to convert an obligation assumed by means of a simple unilateral declaration of intention into a contractual obligation."

The President of Mexico added:

"... I do not wish to let this occasion pass without paying a warm tribute to President Paz Estensoro of Bolivia, President Goulart of Brazil, President Alessandri of Chile, and President Arosemena of Ecuador, for their spontaneous and enthusiastic support of this proposal.

"It now only remains for me to explain why, since Mexico has always been distinguished for its sentiments of brotherly friendship and respect for all the Latin-American peoples, I decided at this first stage of our undertaking to address myself solely to the Heads of State mentioned above. The explanation, which is certainly very simple, is that those are the four countries which co-sponsored, at the last session of the United Nations General Assembly, a draft resolution<sup>1/</sup> also designed to bring about the denuclearization of Latin America. At the request of one of the co-sponsors of that draft resolution, its discussion was postponed. I therefore believed that it was to those four States that I should suggest the desirability of inviting our other brother Republics to join efforts to banish the nuclear threat from Latin-American soil. I am happy to say that I shall address fraternal messages

(The Chairman, Mexico)

without delay to the Heads of State of the other Latin-American countries, expressing our warmest hope of receiving their invaluable co-operation in this common endeavour."

The messages to which the President of Mexico referred were sent to the Heads of State of the other fifteen Latin-American nations, and read as follows:

"I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that the Heads of State of the five Latin-American Republics named below have today made the following declaration:..."

The message gives the text of the declaration which I read earlier, and then goes on as follows:

"In accordance with the provisions of operative paragraph 2 of the Declaration, I express my sincerest hope that your illustrious Government may be able to lend its invaluable support. I am justified in this hope by the acknowledged love of peace of which Your Excellency has given such convincing and striking evidence.

"In the present crisis, one of the gravest symptoms of which is the armaments race, I consider that the Heads of State of Latin America must all honour our long-established tradition of peace; therefore we must join together in the noble task of consolidating peace and erect within our regional community an impregnable barrier against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We shall thus acquit ourselves of our great responsibility to safeguard the life, health and well-being of our respective peoples and to hand down to future generations an order of peace and justice.

"In expressing in advance our warmest thanks to Your Excellency for the close and thorough attention which I am confident you will give to this proposal, I wish to reiterate my sentiments of the highest consideration and personal friendship. Lopez Mateos, President of Mexico"

Having informed the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament of the text of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Latin America and of the motives which inspired it, I need only indicate some of the ideas contained in the message addressed to the Presidents of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Ecuador.

The President of Mexico said:

"I do not think I am guilty of excessive optimism if I say to you now that such a document -- the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Latin America -- would also have most salutary effects on the efforts that are being made both

(The Chairman, Mexico)

by the United Nations General Assembly and by the Committee on Disarmament to banish the spectre of a nuclear war for once and for all".

Elsewhere in the same letter -- and with these words I should like to conclude my present statement -- the President of Mexico said:

"We are living at a dramatic moment, a moment that demands of each and every one of us -- but especially of those of us who have received a mandate to speak for our peoples -- decisive and consistent action to ensure the preservation of life itself."

We are confident that the other Latin-American nations will accede to this declaration so that -- in the words of the President of Mexico -- "it will become for our peoples something resembling a charter of liberation from all nuclear threats."

Mr. MBU (Nigeria): The joint resolution of the five Latin-American Presidents to turn Latin America into a denuclearized zone is indeed a commendable effort which my delegation fully endorses. In the apparent doldrums of our Conference, the Nigerian delegation welcomes any initiative aimed at decreasing tension in the relations between States and facilitating the achievement of humanity's principal goal -- world peace through general and complete disarmament.

The Nigerian delegation believes that among measures most likely to decrease tension today are a treaty to ban all nuclear tests, and agreements setting up denuclearized zones.

The history of the denuclearization of zones, though short, has an impressive pedigree. The idea first received the sanctity of world public opinion through two international acts of particular importance. Those acts were:

- (1) the conclusion in December 1959 of a convention on Antarctica which recognized the denuclearization of that region, already famous for the peaceful co-operation of States; and
- (2) the resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1961 on the denuclearization of Africa (A/RES/1652(XVI)).

To those two important acts must be added the overwhelming support accorded by the seventeenth session of the United Nations General Assembly to the plan for an atom-free Latin America, which has been mentioned by the representative of Mexico (supra, p.13).

Indeed, we can go still further into the chronology of this matter. The idea itself of nuclear-free zones was conceived by the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Adam Rapacki, at the United Nations General Assembly as far back as 2 October 1957 (A/PV.697, para. 136). Since the introduction of the Rapacki plan a number of States

(Mr. Mbu, Nigeria)

have submitted plans for the creation of atom-free zones in different parts of the world --- in the Balkans, in the Pacific and in the Near East areas.

The logic of our support of atom-free zones is easily tenable. First, the trend towards denuclearization clearly constitutes a manifestation of States in self-defence against the perpetual subjugation of human destiny to the risk of an accidental nuclear war. Secondly, the trend towards denuclearization is supported because the establishment of nuclear-free zones in different parts of the world could contribute considerably towards the relaxation of international tension and facilitate the solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament.

Speaking on some of the merits of denuclearization measures in the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on 12 November 1962, the Nigerian representative said:

"Their justification is that they limit the area of infection and to that extent make the basic problem more containable." (A/C.1/PV.1271, p.8)

Of course, our representative had in mind the problem of general and complete disarmament when he made that important statement. Let us agree to a start on denuclearization; if it does nothing else, it will at least lessen international tension.

If I may be excused for being a little chauvinistic concerning African affairs, I would say that conditions in Africa today are most propitious for an accord which recognizes the continent of Africa as a nuclear-free zone. If newspaper reports that there will no longer be nuclear tests above the Sahara are authentic or substantially true, then this is the time to press on with the recognition of Africa as a zone free from nuclear armaments.

Those unchallenged reports mark the end of an era and are a good augury for the future and for a return to the traditional friendship of the African States with France. We applaud the initiative of the French Government, which truly reflects the respect which that Government has for world public opinion. The Nigerian delegation sincerely hopes that it will not be beyond the resources or foresight of African statesmen, when they assemble later this month in Addis Ababa, to ratify the resolution of the United Nations on the denuclearization of Africa.

The declaration submitted this morning by the representatives of Brazil and Mexico (ENDC/87) presents this Committee with a unique opportunity for a new and thorough examination of the all-important and all-embracing question of nuclear proliferation. It is the hope of my delegation that, confronted with the bare tools of nuclear disaster, we shall be able at least to make a start in that direction and to save the world unnecessary anxieties.

Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): The delegation of Burma views with the greatest interest and sympathy the joint declaration by the Presidents of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico which was today brought officially to the notice of this Committee by the representatives of Brazil and Mexico. The proliferation of nuclear weapons confronts mankind with the gravest of dangers. If the world is to succeed in its imperative task of eliminating all such weapons through general and complete disarmament, we must begin by taking all possible steps to prevent the problem from growing in magnitude and complexity through the further spread of nuclear weapons. We therefore welcome the present initiative of the five Latin-American Presidents, and wish it all success in achieving its noble and worthy objective.

Mr. CAVALLETTI (Italy) (translation from French): My delegation was deeply interested in the report by the representatives of Brazil and Mexico on the proposal made on 29 April by five Presidents of the Latin-American Republics for the establishment of a denuclearized zone in Latin America (ENDC/87).

My delegation fully understands and shares the noble aspirations behind that proposal. As I have frequently affirmed here, Italy is profoundly conscious of the dangers of nuclear weapons and views with favour any proposal for agreements to limit or prevent the spread of these frightful weapons, provided of course that such agreements do not upset the existing military balance in favour of either party -- in other words, provided that they do not weaken mutual security. It is obvious that the agreements would otherwise defeat their own purpose. In the case of the establishment of a denuclearized zone in Latin America, I think the requisite conditions are met, since the necessary military equilibrium is not affected.

That is the reason why the Italian delegation is convinced of the usefulness of the proposal made by the five Presidents. I would even say that my delegation regards this initiative as a sound contribution to the cause of peace, and an encouragement for the work of the Geneva Conference.

(Mr. Cavalletti, Italy)

Italy, having ties of brotherly friendship with the peoples of Latin America, most sincerely hopes that any nuclear threat or danger will be eliminated for ever from the Latin-American continent. My delegation, imbued with such feelings, hopes that the initiative of the five Latin-American Governments will be supported by all countries interested in the exercise of their free sovereignty, and that this initiative may thus lead to a fair and guaranteed agreement.

My delegation trusts that this desire will be shared by all the other delegations in this Committee. I am encouraged in this hope by the welcome already given to the Latin-American initiative by the representatives of Nigeria and Burma. This initiative should in my opinion find a wide response and due support in the Committee, which would thus contribute to the success of the noble efforts of the five Latin-American Governments.

Mr. BLUSZTAJN (Poland) (translation from French): I have listened with close attention to the brilliant statements by the Brazilian representative, Mr. de Castro, and yourself, Mr. Chairman, and to the highly interesting comments of our Nigerian and Burmese colleagues. What we have just heard constitutes for the Polish delegation a confirmation of the soundness of the theses which we have always upheld in international conferences.

The five Latin-American countries have just tabled a proposal that has all our interest and sympathy. We hope it will lead to the extension of the denuclearization principle to the whole region of Latin America. We also hope that it will help to normalize relations among all the States of the Western hemisphere, with due observance of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

Every attempt at denuclearization in our opinion implies the active co-operation of the nuclear Powers and their respect for the commitments undertaken by the countries belonging to such a zone. I am sure that the authors of the declaration are fully conscious of that fact, and I believe this observation applies particularly to a region where one of the nuclear Powers exerts such a considerable influence.

(Mr. Blusztajn, Poland)

The Polish delegation has, I think a right to feel particularly satisfied with the adoption of the declaration by the five Presidents of Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Bolivia, since we have always advocated the denuclearization of specific zones as an appropriate means of consolidating peace and hastening the coming of a world without weapons.

We can say that the idea of creating zones free of nuclear weapons has gained ground and is enjoying ever-growing support. We draw from this fact encouragement to persist in our efforts to carry through the Polish plan (ENDC/C.1/1) for the creation of a denuclearized and controlled-armaments zone in the heart of Europe.

Mr. STELLE (United States of America): I am sure that all members of this Conference will wish to study the proposal concerning a denuclearized Latin America which has been submitted as a Conference document (ENDC/87) by the delegations of two of the co-signatories which are members of this Conference, Brazil and Mexico. The United States believes that this statement by the Presidents of the Republics of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico is a reflection of the concerns of their Governments about the problems of the arms race, particularly in the nuclear field.

During the discussions in the First Committee of the General Assembly last November the United States expressed support for efforts freely undertaken by States in the Latin-American area to work out arrangements for a denuclearized zone in that region. At this time I should like to read into the record for the information of members of this Committee a statement issued on 1 May by the Department of State with regard to the announcement of the five-Power proposal:

"The United States considers this announcement to be a concrete indication on the part of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico of their deep interest in the problems of arms regulation and the prevention of the spread of independent national nuclear weapons capabilities which in this age are of vital concern not only to the peace and security of this hemisphere but also to the world. The United States shares this concern.

"We will, of course, be interested in the reaction of those countries to which the declaration is addressed as well as in learning more of the scope and nature of the provisions of the agreement which the declaration contemplates."

Lij Mikael IMRU (Ethiopia): I have listened with great interest to the statements made by you, Mr. Chairman, (supra, pp.12 et seq.) and by the representative of Brazil (supra, pp. 5 et seq.) in introducing the text of the declaration of the Presidents of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico on the subject of a nuclear-free zone in their respective territories. That declaration is now before us as a Conference document (ENDC/87), and I wish at this stage to give it a very sympathetic welcome on behalf of my delegation.

The declaration is a contribution to the peace of the world and an effort to arrest the spread of nuclear arms. We are convinced that in the course of human development the path of the proliferation of nuclear weapons will inevitably lead to destruction and is a grievous threat to human life and survival. Any undertaking which arrests the spread of nuclear weapons is therefore welcome, and it is in this spirit that my delegation associates itself fully with all the speakers who have welcomed the declaration. Also, our delegation ventures to hope that the example of this declaration will be followed by other governments, especially in certain sensitive areas where nuclear weapons already exist.

Mr. MACOVESCU (Romania): The delegation of the Romanian People's Republic notes with due attention the initiative of the five Latin-American States, as well as the statements made in this Committee by you, Mr. Chairman, as representative of Mexico, and by the representative of Brazil.

In our view this initiative represents a new step towards creating a nuclear-free zone in Latin-America. As is generally known, the Government of the People's Republic of Romania, standing as it does for the liquidation of the nuclear danger all over the world, is in favour of the creation of nuclear-free zones in all regions. For that reason we greet any initiative conducive to the creation of nuclear-free zones as likely to promote the cause of general and complete disarmament.

As for the joint declaration of the five Latin-American Presidents submitted to this Committee as an official document, the delegation of the Romanian People's Republic reserves the right to study it carefully and to discuss it in merito at an appropriate time.

Mr. LALL (India): We have listened with deep interest to the initiative of the Presidents of five Latin-American countries which you, Mr. Chairman, and our Brazilian colleague have told us about today. We believe that this initiative shows the deep concern of countries to move forward with measures to ensure peace and security and to avert the effects of a possible nuclear clash. Such an initiative is most understandable in the situation in which our world exists. Indeed, it is because of that situation that this Conference of ours was called into being, so that it might address itself to the urgent question of disarmament. We earnestly hope that the initiative of the Latin-American countries will encourage this Committee and all of us here to redouble our efforts in the field of universal disarmament, which is the only real solution to the problem posed by the massive presence of nuclear weapons on our planet. We should like to hope, therefore, that the effects of this important initiative in your part of the world, Mr. Chairman, will be far-reaching in relation to the work of our Committee.

Mr. GODBER (United Kingdom): My delegation has listened with great sympathy to your statement, Mr. Chairman, and to the statement made by the representative of Brazil, who began the debate this morning. We shall be very ready to study most carefully the declaration which has been submitted by your two countries together with Bolivia, Chile and Ecuador. We understand very well the motives which have inspired the proposal. I should like to say that we in the United Kingdom recognize that every region of the world has its own particular problems, and that the difficulties associated with nuclear-free zones are fortunately less formidable in some regions than in others. In some areas, we realize, there is as yet no direct military confrontation of the great Powers, nor is there any complex system of essential defensive arrangements of the kind that exists in Europe. Thus in certain areas and zones of the world the difficulties of maintaining the balance of security are fortunately not so great. We believe that the right approach is that States in any region should themselves take the initiative and should decide for themselves freely and voluntarily whether they wish to create such a zone.

(Mr. Godber, United Kingdom)

Arrangements of this kind must be considered in the light of the circumstances prevailing in any particular region and in the light of the views of the countries that would be affected. Since the very nature of nuclear weapons unfortunately makes them global in their effect, the policy of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has been aimed at denuclearizing the whole world within the framework of general and complete disarmament. However, we fully share the concern of your own Government, Sir, and of the other four Governments which has inspired your declaration on the denuclearization of Latin-America. We shall study the proposal very sympathetically as one which might well offer real advantages and might well be appropriate in the circumstances of Latin-America.

We should be interested to hear more of the views of the Governments concerned on certain aspects --- notably, perhaps, on how it is proposed that assurance would be given that the obligations undertaken by States were being observed. We shall be interested in the reaction of the other Governments to which the declaration was particularly addressed by the five Presidents. The efficacy of the measures proposed clearly depends on the extent of the support that can be obtained for the declaration. As I say, we look on it with real interest, and we shall watch its progress with sympathy.

In listening to the comments of other representatives here this morning I was glad to note a general unanimity of view on that aspect of your problem. I listened particularly to the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Mbu, who mentioned (*supra*, p. 19) in passing the claims of Africa also in this connexion. We adopt in relation to Africa exactly the same attitude I have indicated in relation to Latin-America. We have said so in the past. If the countries concerned really want this, then we shall adopt a very sympathetic interest towards it.

Our colleague from Nigeria also referred (*supra*, p. 18) to the Rapacki plan and to the proposal (ENDC/C.I/1) of our colleagues from Poland in relation thereto. I have previously made clear the United Kingdom's attitude on that particular proposal (ENDC/C.I/PV.1, p. 34). Of course it creates far greater difficulties because nuclear weapons are already very much in existence in Europe, and indeed form a very great part of the defensive arrangements of both the Power blocs involved there. That is a fundamental difficulty. There is also the fact that Europe is a small continent geographically, and I have already intimated the problem of nuclear weapons in this context because of their almost global effect.

(Mr. Godber, United Kingdom)

So, while I have indicated my belief that in certain areas of the world such proposals hold out real hope, I would not pretend for one moment that that has changed in any way the United Kingdom's attitude towards the proposals for Central Europe. For I do not believe that Central Europe could itself from the effects of nuclear war should this, unhappily, break out. It could not do so by constituting itself in advance a nuclear-free zone. I believe, therefore, that --- much as I wish it were otherwise -- in that particular area of the world we have to go on seeking to achieve general disarmament, which will provide the solution of our problems there. However, I do not see why that should prevent the most useful initiative put forward by our colleagues from the Latin-American States. I have made clear our interest in it, and I shall be very much interested to watch the developments on this front.

Mr. KURKA (Czechoslovakia) (translation from Russian): My delegation has also listened with the greatest attention to the important statement made by the representative of Brazil, as well as to your own statement, Mr. Chairman, informing us of the declaration of the Presidents of the five Latin-American Republics regarding the creation of a denuclearized zone in Latin-America. I should also like to express our satisfaction at this initiative of the Presidents of the five Latin-American countries. Of course, we reserve the right to state our views on this declaration in greater detail after we have studied it thoroughly.

I should, however, like to recall now that the Czechoslovak delegation in its statements in this Committee, has already explained on many occasions the positive attitude of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic towards the idea of creating denuclearized zones in various parts of the world. We are deeply convinced that such measures would not only benefit the peoples of the countries concerned but would also contribute substantially to the consolidation of peace and security and to the reduction of international tension, since they would prevent the dissemination of foci of nuclear war.

The beneficial influence of denuclearized zones on international relations has already been stressed on numerous occasions at the General Assembly of the United Nations, which, as we all know, in 1961 adopted resolution 1652 (XVI) of 24 November 1961, appealing to the Member States to regard and respect Africa as a denuclearized continent. My delegation is convinced that in the future work of

(Mr. Kurka, Czechoslovakia)

our Committee all the decisive aspects which have to be considered in creating a denuclearized zone will be elucidated, and that our Committee will correctly evaluate the possibilities which really effective measures would open up in this direction.

The initiative of the Heads of State of the five Latin-American countries shows in fact that the idea of creating denuclearized zones is finding more and more advocates. We should like to express the hope that the declaration of the Presidents of the five Latin-American countries, and proposals for the creation of denuclearized zones in other areas, especially in Central Europe, will be evaluated from this standpoint by all the delegations in our Committee.

Mr. BURNS (Canada) On behalf of the Canadian delegation I wish to express appreciation of the initiative taken by the five Latin-American countries to counter the dangers involved in the proliferation of nuclear weapons in Latin-America. We greatly appreciate, Mr. Chairman, the statements which have been made in the Conference this morning by you and by the representative of Brazil on what has inspired the Presidents of your own countries, supported by the Presidents of the other countries.

We recall that the proposal for a nuclear-free zone in south and central America was brought forward at the session of the General Assembly last autumn. The Canadian delegation took at that time a very sympathetic interest in what we felt was a most valuable initiative, and we particularly welcome the emphasis which your own statement and that of the representative of Brazil have placed on the importance of adopting concrete measures for ending the arms race --- measures which fall within what we in this Conference have come to call collateral measures.

It is the hope of the Canadian delegation that the declaration will provide a stimulus to the work of this Committee. We shall, of course, wish to study with care the document which has been distributed this morning (ENDC/87) and to consider all the implications of this valuable initiative. We may have further comments to make later on the proposal.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): The Soviet delegation has listened with great interest to the eloquent statements of the representative of Brazil and Mexico, and of other representatives, on the question of making Latin America a denuclearized zone. The declaration of the five Presidents -- of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico -- reflects the clearly-expressed will of the peoples of the countries of Latin America to avert the threat of a nuclear missile war from the Latin-American continent.

In this connexion we should like to recall that the Soviet Union has always supported proposals aimed at eliminating the threat of a nuclear missile war through the creation of denuclearized zones. In this connexion we should like to recall such facts as the support given by the Soviet Union to the resolution of the General Assembly on making the African continent a denuclearized zone (A/RES/1652 (XVI)). We should also like to recall the support given by the Soviet Union to proposals for creating a denuclearized zone in Central Europe (ENDC/C.1/l) and in other regions of the world. Obviously the task of turning a continent or large areas of the world, whatever their size, into denuclearized zones is very closely connected with the position taken by the nuclear Powers in this matter. Only if the nuclear Powers respect the status of denuclearized zones can this dream and aspiration of the peoples be realized.

The declaration of the five Presidents -- of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico -- is, of course, of definite interest and deserves the most careful study. We shall study it accordingly and, if necessary, we shall have more to say on this important question.

Mr. BLUSZTAJN (Poland) (translation from French): I shall only speak for a few moments, as I do not want to divert the Committee's attention from the question put before us by the delegations of Brazil and Mexico: but Mr. Godber's statement this morning compels me to say a few words.

We note with a certain amount of satisfaction that the United Kingdom delegation realizes the connexion between all the projects for denuclearization in various parts of the world. This is an advance we find rather gratifying. I hope that we shall have the pleasure of hearing the United Kingdom delegation's comments

(Mr. Blusztajn, Poland)

on the Polish proposal (ENDC/C.1/1) at one of our forthcoming Friday meetings devoted to the study of collateral disarmament measures. In any case, I think the Polish delegation can take some pride in the fact that the idea of denuclearization is enjoying ever-growing support, and I am sure that the Western Powers will not be able to isolate Europe from this great wave of support, started by public opinion in every country, for the idea of creating denuclearized zones.

Mr. CHRISTOV (Bulgaria) (translation from French): May I say how very propitious I find this occasion to speak for the first time in this Committee? The pleasure is the greater for me in that I can associate myself with the appreciative remarks made on the declaration of the five Latin-American countries.

The Bulgarian delegation has listened with the greatest interest to the statements made by the representative of Brazil and by you yourself, Mr. Chairman, in introducing that declaration. Our delegation is now giving this document its most serious attention and will study it most carefully, especially since it deals with points to which we attach particular importance --- like, for example, the problem of the spread of nuclear weapons.

I am bound to emphasize now that the Government of the Bulgarian People's Republic has always been and still is a firm supporter of proposals for the denuclearization of other zones in the world, and particularly the Balkan zone, and has frequently made statements to that effect. I can therefore assure you that we fully understand the noble sentiments prompting the statesmen of the five countries co-signatories of the declaration.

Baron von PLATEN (Sweden): The Swedish delegation has listened with the greatest attention to the interesting and constructive declaration on the denuclearization of Latin America. We hope that that declaration will be taken by the nuclear Powers as an invitation and a stimulation to negotiate, to compromise and, at long last, to reach agreement concerning a nuclear test ban treaty.

Once again thanking you, Mr. Chairman, and the representative of Brazil for your highly interesting and constructive proposal, I would express the fervent hope that it will be understood in its full context by the three nuclear Powers.

The CHAIRMAN (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): If no other representative has anything to say on this matter, I will call upon the first of the two speakers on my list who wish to speak on the cessation of nuclear tests: the representatives of the United Kingdom and Czechoslovakia.

But before I do so, I should like in my capacity as the representative of Mexico to express my thanks to the representatives of Nigeria, Burma, Italy, Poland, the United States, Ethiopia, Romania, India, the United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, Canada, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Sweden for their understanding and sympathetic attitude towards the initiative taken by the Latin-American Presidents. It is gratifying to note that this declaration has been received as an effort to further the cause of peace and as coming within the framework of the questions and tasks referred to this Committee.

I am sure the representative of Brazil joins me in this expression of thanks. I see that he wishes to speak, and I call upon him.

Mr. de CASTRO (Brazil) (translation from French): I have little to add to the words of thanks which you have expressed, Mr. Chairman. I can only associate myself with the thanks you have proffered to all those representatives who have this morning expressed their interest and sympathy, and especially their eminent understanding, of the motives which prompted this decision by the five Latin-American Presidents. I think that you and I, the two Latin-American representatives in this assembly, are moved by the deep interest and the solidarity accorded to this proposal, which has undoubtedly been acknowledged as constructive, in the sense that it can put the world on the right path.

We all know we are at a cross-roads in history where, as I have said elsewhere, we have the choice of two paths: the path of the bomb and the path of bread. The path of the bomb is the road to war and destruction; the path of bread is the road to peace, disarmament and the positive utilization of resources which are today being frittered away on building equipment for the destruction of mankind, to bring mankind the bread it needs; for we all know that two-thirds of mankind are even today deprived of the necessities of life. I believe that all of us here are striving to find the right path. Our contribution of this morning, small though it may be, may perhaps awaken the conscience of the world, penetrate that conscience still more deeply, and make it possible to release social reactions

(Mr. de Castro, Brazil)

in a kind of catalysis that could result in peace, first of all through an agreement on the immediate cessation of nuclear tests, which constitute the greatest danger hanging over all mankind.

We all know that the "nuclear experiments" being conducted today represent an incredible danger, if only for the reason that they are experiments. Having been for years a scientist working in laboratories, I know what an experiment is. It is something whose exact results we do not know: we want to see what will happen. Who can assure us that this rash series of nuclear experiments will not produce a terribly negative result, the unleashing of unpredictable explosions the price of which will be paid by mankind? That is why we must devote a little more attention to this problem. We cannot conduct experiments with mankind as the guineapig and our whole planet as the laboratory. We must stop in face of that danger.

The proposal put forward today represents a constructive protest from a group of countries which do not want to co-operate in this kind of experiment, and which find among the different representatives here present the support, stimulus and incentive to make us continue the fight, in which, hard as it may be, I am sure we shall triumph; for I have faith in man. Man's science is strong and gives him a terrible power, but stronger than science is man himself.

The CHAIRMAN (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): The first speaker on my list who wishes to speak on the cessation of nuclear tests is the representative of the United Kingdom. Does he wish to speak?

Mr. GODBER (United Kingdom): I should be perfectly ready to speak now on the subject of nuclear tests. I realize, however, that it is a little late in the day to start a new discussion in the Committee. I realize too that, after the very interesting discussion we have had this morning on another subject, it might be the wish of representatives that we should not move to a different item today. I am entirely at the disposal of the Committee, and am perfectly willing to defer my statement to another time; but if the debate on nuclear tests is to go on, then I should like to make my statement.

The CHAIRMAN (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): The other speaker on my list is the representative of Czechoslovakia. I should like to ask him also whether he wishes to postpone his statement until another meeting. If so, we will adjourn the meeting.

Mr. KURKA (Czechoslovakia) (translation from Russian): I should like to make just a few remarks on the problem of the cessation of nuclear weapon tests, but I think it would be better to take the same line as the representative of the United Kingdom, so I am prepared to postpone my statement until our next meeting.

The CHAIRMAN (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): In view of what has just been said by the representatives of the United Kingdom and Czechoslovakia, I shall proceed to read the communique for today's meeting.

The Conference decided to issue the following communique:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its one hundred and twenty-eighth plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of Mr. L. Padilla Nervo, representative of Mexico.

"Statements were made by the representatives of Brazil, Mexico, Nigeria, Burma, Italy, Poland, the United States, Ethiopia, Romania, India the United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, Canada, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Sweden.

"The delegations of Brazil and Mexico submitted to the Conference a declaration<sup>1/</sup> on the denuclearization of Latin America.

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Wednesday, 8 May 1963, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

---

<sup>1/</sup> Circulated as document ENDC/87.